

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 043 406

RC 004 652

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TITLE The Crow Indian Reservation of Montana. Indian
Affairs (No. 4). Final Report.
INSTITUTION Brigham Young Univ., Provo, Utah. Inst. of American
Indian Research and Services
PUB DATE 69
NOTE 22p.
EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.25 HC-\$1.20
DESCRIPTORS Age Differences, *American Indians, Attitudes,
Community Attitudes, *Development, Economics,
*Education, Employment, Labor Force, Manpower
Development, Population Trends, Rural Education, Sex
Differences, *Socioeconomic Status, Training, Urban
Environment
IDENTIFIERS *Crow Indians, Montana

ABSTRACT

As a final report of a survey about manpower potential of the Crow Indian Reservation of Montana, this report gives a description of population characteristics, educational achievement, potential labor force, available skills of the labor force, and present employment conditions of the worker population on the reservation. The report also includes some important considerations concerning the extent of use of modern living facilities on the reservation and the attitudes, preferences, and practices of the reservation people concerning land ownership and use. The document consists of 3 main parts. The first part presents a general summary of findings without tables; the second part presents specific findings in tabular form, with extended comments on the socioeconomic characteristics of the population of the reservation in terms of age, sex, and socioeconomic status; and the third part of the report includes analysis of attitudes of the Crow people toward some of the issues of reservation life. The report shows that education is not enough if it is not supported by a business or industrial base on the reservation where learned skills and education can be put to use. (EL)

EDO 43406

INDIAN AFFAIRS

(No. 4)

The Crow Indian Reservation of Montana



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and

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A Publication of the Institute of
American Indian *Research*
Studies
and Service

Final Report

Brigham Young University

Provo, Utah

1969

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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RC004652

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	iii
Introduction	iv
I. Summary of Findings	1
II. Analysis of Findings	5
1. Description of the Population	5
2. Extent of Modern Living on the Reservation	6
3. Educational Aspiration and Achievement	7
4. Potential Labor Force	8
5. The Skills of the Labor Force	11
6. Employment on the Reservation	14
7. Land Ownership and Involvement	17
8. Involvement in Tribal Affairs and Expectations from Tribal Leaders	19
9. Plans and Orientation to the Future	22
III. Analysis of Attitudes by Three Selected Factors	24
1. Attitudes Toward Education	26
2. Attitudes Toward Tribal Affairs	28
3. Attitudes Toward Land Use	31
IV. Conclusion	34

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This report is based on the final analysis of the original data and includes a complete evaluation and cross-tabulation of the most important variables of the study. Much credit is due to all those involved in the design of the survey, including the fieldwork and the preliminary tabulation of the results. Particular thanks are due Mr. Barry L. Johnson who directed the fieldwork and wrote the first preliminary report, some aspects of which were very helpful in the preparation of this final report.

As already stated in the preliminary report, the cooperation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Crow Agency, Montana, is much appreciated. The assistance of the leaders of the Crow Tribe was invaluable to complete the fieldwork and is also gratefully acknowledged.

The writers are grateful to their research assistants working in this final report: Mr. John Powless, a senior from the Oneida reservation who assisted in the coding, tabulation, and preparation of data for the statistical analysis; and Mr. Thomas Garrow, a senior from the Mohawk reservation who assisted in card punching, computer programming, and preparing the data for machine analysis.

The writers also appreciate the support and help of Dr. James R. Clark, of the Institute of American Indian Studies and Research, who served as consultant for the entire project and who facilitated and organized the secretarial and printing services and served as consultant in the final editing.

INTRODUCTION

This is a report of a survey about the manpower potential of the Crow Indian Reservation of Montana. It includes a description of the population characteristics, the educational achievement, the potential labor force, the available skills of the labor force, and the present employment conditions of the worker population in the reservation. The report also includes some important considerations concerning the extent of the use of modern living facilities in the reservation and also the attitudes, preferences, and practices of the reservation people concerning land ownership and land use in the reservation.

The Indian reservations in the United States are experiencing some important changes. The Crow reservation is no exception. The tribal leadership is fully aware of the need to have reliable knowledge about the facilities, the assets, and the needs of the people. This report is only one of several that have been made by the tribe to obtain a more complete understanding of the social, economic, and educational needs and potentialities of the Crow people.

The present report represents the final analysis of the survey data. The earlier progress report, which consisted mostly of frequency distribution tables, did not include cross-tabulation of the findings and was therefore submitted only as a preliminary description of the reservation conditions.

A careful analysis of the information here presented will make evident that the Crow reservation presents both the struggle and relative success of the people to advance and improve themselves and also the social and economic problems which they must still overcome. The report will show also that the education of the people, by itself, is not enough if it is not supported by a business or industrial base in the reservation where the learned skills and education of the people can be put to use. Also evident in the report will be the interesting relationship which exists between the fact of land ownership and the fact of being or not being successful in finding and/or keeping a job or some other employment. To show some significant differences and to demonstrate the importance of social variables, some items were analyzed separately for people of higher and lower socioeconomic status so that the importance of the variables could be demonstrated.

This report consists of three main parts. The first presents the general summary of the findings. Here the statements appear without the tables and are meant to provide an overview of the most important aspects of the study. The second part of the report presents the specific findings in the form of tables and extended comments. It describes in a more specific way some of the socioeconomic characteristics of the population of the reservation. The analysis is by age, sex, and socioeconomic status. The analysis by age shows some important differences between the young and the old in the reservation, and some trends are identified which can be helpful in understanding the different problems and concerns of different ages. Some important differences between males and females are also shown. As mentioned above, the analysis was also controlled for socioeconomic status, or social class. On the basis of reported income, source of income, occupation, and education, the population was divided into three social classes: higher, middle, and lower. This division is relative only to the reservation conditions and is useful to determine the relationship between social class and other important items in the study.

The third part of the report includes the analysis of some of the attitudes of the Crow people concerning some of the issues of reservation life.

This analysis is presented by controlling for three selected factors: the socioeconomic status, the urban-rural residence, and the extent of land involvement of the population.

The three levels of socioeconomic status into which the Crow population was divided were developed so that the attitudes expressed could be related to the position the people have in the reservation. The same was true with the division of the people into urban and rural residents and their division into those who have no land and those who have low, average, and high involvement with respect to reservation land. All these divisions were done in terms of what the people themselves said and the facts they reported and are only valid and useful in the analysis of the data from this reservation. This means that the people herein called urban are urban only in relation to other people in the reservation but not necessarily with respect to other communities outside the reservation. For it is the differences in attitudes among the Crow people only that are being considered herein and no other groups of people. The same is true for the three socioeconomic levels developed for the people in the reservation. The main purpose was to find the differences in attitudes, if any, between members of the reservation when their differences in other aspects were taken into consideration.

PART ONE
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

1. Description of the Population

On the basis of returns from 80 percent of the reservation households, the Crow population is relatively young with 79 percent of the heads of the household being under 50 years of age. The Crow families tend to be large in numbers, 71 percent of them having five or more members, but this includes many families with more than two generations as well as other relatives living with them. A large number of the Crow families appear to be complete as 72 percent of them have a male as the head of the household. (See details in page 5)

2. Extent of Modern Living in the Reservation

Overall, in spite of its rural situation, the Crow reservation people tend to be quite modern in their outlook as exemplified by the ready acceptance of modern conveniences and facilities, and of their using credit. The great majority of them have adopted modern ways, and further acceptance of modern facilities is probably mostly tempered by the limitation of means rather than by unwillingness to accept modern urban-like ways. (See details in page 7)

3. Educational Aspiration and Achievement

The Crow Indians are very much interested in education. Most of them want their children to go to college, and they see education as a means to achieve upward mobility, both socially and financially. However, responses to questions about actual behavior tend to show the frustration present in this search for training and education. Most parents encourage their children to go to school and get additional training after high school; about half of them help them with their homework, one-fourth even attend P. T. A. meetings. But the drop-out rate is high. When asked why, the Crow people placed the blame primarily on the school for not being attractive enough for their children. They also blamed their poverty and poor health. But the respondents accepted some responsibility for the problem, and about the same proportion of blame is placed on the parents and on the children. About half of the recommendations made for the solution of the problem included emphasis on counseling which shows their adequate understanding of the problem. (See details in page 8)

4. Potential Labor Force

The survey shows that there is an eagerness on the part of the Crow population for jobs and for training. And, though somewhat reluctantly, they would even move off the reservation if jobs were available. About 30 percent of the male respondents have at least a high school diploma, and some have higher training and degrees. The younger the individual, the higher the education he has received; and, as was shown above, the Crow population are a relatively young population. One fourth of the male respondents have completed vocational training, and the skills received are essentially for urban and industrial jobs. Again, this is particularly true of the young. The female population have less formal training than the males. Over half of the male population stated that their first choice for a job was urban rather than rural, and they also showed interest in getting occupational skills by training.

Women seemed rather enthusiastic in their response about job

opportunities for them, and well over half of them responded that they would like to work full time if baby sitting facilities were offered. Most of their skills were limited to homemaking skills, with the exception of about fifty women trained in secretarial work and close to fifty trained in nursing. Again, almost 40 percent of them were interested in getting trained, mostly in nursing and secretarial work.

The same eagerness to be involved is indicated by the men's and women's response to questions about their willingness to move in order to get a job. Around 50 percent are willing to move, however, the trend indicates ambivalence in the sample about actually moving away from the reservation. They show a definite desire for steady occupation, but at the same time they seem to realize the enormous price of having to move away from home in order to get it. This is probably one of the greatest dilemmas faced by potential workers in Indian reservations. (See details in page 11)

5. The Skills of the Labor Force

An increasing number of people in the reservation are acquiring skills and this is especially true of the young. The younger they are, for example, the more education they have. Of all the males under 30 years of age 53 percent have finished high school, and this includes 28 percent who have had some college. Of the general male population 56 percent have eight or more years of school. Of the women 37 percent have finished high school and 13 percent have had some college.

Concerning the skills in vocational training we find that 25 percent of the heads of households report to have the training for at least one vocational skill. This includes auto repair, truck driving, welding, carpentry, and other miscellaneous skills. It is important to note that the learning of urban skills is increasing, while learning of farming and ranching is decreasing. This is particularly true among the young people. Only 16 percent of the women have completed the training for the skills they report. Mostly these include nursing and secretarial work.

For the women, as it is for the men, the age pattern is similar: the younger they are the more skills they have. And both male and female prefer training in skills for urban jobs and occupations; and, as shown in another part of this report, the Crow people would prefer that these jobs and occupations were right there on the reservation. (See details on page 14)

6. The Employment Situation on the Reservation

The employment situation reflects important inadequacies. In spite of the demonstrated eagerness on the part of the reservation labor force, the occupational roles available to them are obviously inadequate. This is true with reference to number of jobs, stability of jobs, and the financial rewards available through these jobs. The jobs available do not match the educational achievement of the Crow people.

The income levels are relatively low, and relatively few people on the reservation have full-time employment. In case after case, the sad paradox is that the Crow people are already overtrained and overeducated if we use as a criterion the availability of jobs on the reservation. This is perhaps one of the most pressing problems on the reservation which is conducive to much personal and community frustration. (See details in page 16)

7. The People's Land Ownership and Involvement

Most of the Crow Indian families have land and most of them get some income from it.

Of those in the reservation who have land 71 percent receive less than \$1,000 a year as income from it. This income is mostly from leasing since 82 percent lease their land to others.

An important fact to note is that those who only lease their land have lower incomes than those who lease part of their land and farm or ranch the other part, or those who just farm and ranch their land without leasing any part of it. The latter also usually have a steady job. The families with higher socioeconomic status are those where the head of the household has a stable occupational role and also invests and works on the land he has. Only about 5 percent of the Crow families fall into this category of higher socioeconomic status. (See details in page 17)

8. Involvement in, and Expectations from Tribal Government

About one-third of the respondents report that they attend at least some of the tribal government meetings. It is difficult to say whether this represents high or low involvement, but a large number of the Crow people seem quite interested in their tribal affairs judging by their willingness to respond to the many questions dealing with this issue. The number of responses obtained shows that the people are anxious to give suggestions, but the answers also show that they are not as well-informed about the present programs on the reservation.

They would like reservation leaders to establish Indian organizations to provide jobs rather than bring Anglo business or industrial organizations to do so. And there is a slightly greater interest in urban rather than in rural enterprises.

The people were asked to give some concrete suggestions concerning money-making projects which the tribe should have, and a large percentage of them listed specifically their ideas. About 35 percent of those who answered had positive feelings about the tribal leaders, 46 percent expressed no opinion, and 19 percent were critical. (See details in page 20)

9. Plans and Orientation to the Future

Considering the problems of the reservation, the Crow people have some definite ideas as to what they would like to change in the future in order to correct some of the limitations of their reservation life. A large number of them would like to get at least some of their land back under their control. And they realize that some special training would be necessary for them to be able to work the land themselves. About one-third of them would like to go into farming or ranching, but mostly ranching; and about one-half of them would welcome the necessary training to do so. Almost half of them would like to organize a co-op. A few are interested in setting up various types of business establishments. About 20 percent feel the tribal leaders could and should help the people to get loans, machinery, or the needed support; and 10 percent feel the leaders could help in getting their land back from those holding leases. But the consideration of the answers to other items gives some indication that although land is very important to the Crow people, that the specific interest in developing and working the land may not be very high. As said before, their desire for training is higher for urban than for rural skills.

In studying the data one senses the lack of fitness. The Crow people want a rewarding occupational role which will not only provide financial rewards but status rewards as well. But they also want to be geographically located close to their family and relatives on the reservation. These two desires are not always compatible, for in most of the cases good jobs are not available there. And this dilemma continues from one generation to the

other. For parents encourage their children to prepare themselves educationally so that eventually they can get a rewarding occupational role. But the strong family values of the extended family encourage the young to return and settle on the reservation where good jobs are not always available. This continuous frustration goes a long way to explain the high personal and social disorganization on the reservation. The orientation to the future is handicapped by the orientation to the past.

Perhaps it is relevant here to contrast the reservation situation with that of the average white farmer. In one sense the white parents face a similar dilemma, but they cope with it in a different way. They also want their children to achieve more education so as to obtain better jobs. And they also know that in the rural areas there just are not enough good jobs. The white child is taught early in life that his duty to his parents is to prepare himself and bring honor to the family by achieving and becoming a success. From early life the white child knows that the family land will not be divided and that he must not depend on that land as a possible substitute for an occupational role. Of course, it is the dependency of the white child on other institutions and organizations that makes it unnecessary for him to be so dependent on his extended family. When he marries he is supposed to give all or most of his loyalty to his new conjugal family; and his responsibility is greater toward his and the next generation, without necessarily forgetting his parents' generation. It is these values that permit him to plan and be willing to move away from his parents' home to establish his own. (See details in page 22.)

PART TWO

ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

1. Description of the Population

The following description is based on the analysis of 80 percent of the households on the Crow Reservation, or 393 households. These 393 households are herein referred to as the population.

The social characteristics of the families interviewed can be classified in terms of their location on the reservation as follows:

<u>Location</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Lodge Grass	31
Crow Agency	25
Black Lodge	13
Pryor	13
Wyola	9
St. Xavier	8
Others	1

The population on the reservation tends to be young. The age of the male household heads range from 18 years of age to over 65, following this distribution:

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
18 through 29	26
30 through 49	53
50 through 65	16
over 65 years	5

This seems to indicate that the male household heads are relatively young, 79 percent being under 50 years of age.

The families tend to be large. The range is from 27 families with 2 members to 4 families with 17 members or more. The distribution follows:

<u>Family Size</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
2 to 4 members	29
5 to 10 members	61
11 to over 17 members	10

This may indicate a tendency toward the Crow family being an extended family, i. e., families who include relatives other than father, mother, and children. A review of the data showed that, in effect, 38 percent of the families interviewed included members of the extended family.

The family unit tends to be relatively stable, with 72 percent of the total population having a complete family, i. e., having a male household head. Twenty-eight percent have a "broken" family, which herein means a family with a female household head, a situation brought about by death, separation, or divorce.

The great majority of the total population (94 percent) have membership in one of the available churches on the reservation. The specific churches named are:

<u>Church Membership</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Catholic church	40
Baptist and Community churches	24
Pentecostal or Church of God	16
Latter-day Saints (Mormons)	10
Miscellaneous Christian churches	6
Native American	4

As indicated above, the overwhelming majority of the Crow population belong to one of the Christian denominations. Only 4 percent are members of the Native American church.

Important too is the fact that 37 percent of the respondents are veterans.

2. Extent of Modern Living on the Reservation

The Crow Reservation people are quite modern in their outlook on life. They seem to have readily accepted modern advances, particularly when their rurality is taken into consideration. A description of their homes will make this point more evident.

Most of the respondents, or 82 percent, own their home. The houses tend to be large, which would be consistent with the observation that the extended family is also rather large. Fifteen percent of the houses have three rooms or less; 45 percent are of average size (four to five rooms); and 40 percent are rather large houses (six and more rooms). This means that 85 percent of the houses are of comfortable size.

The homes are rather old: only 25 percent are new (one to three years); 26 percent are rather new (four to nine years); 49 percent are ten years and older. Actually 35 percent of the houses are 19 years old or older. Most of them are made of frame (85 percent), with 4 percent made of logs, 5 percent of block, stucco, or brick, and 6 percent are trailers.

Seventy-five percent of the houses have a bathtub or shower. Seventy-six percent have a toilet inside the house. Seventy-six percent have sewage (19 percent have public sewer and 57 percent have a septic tank or cesspool). Twenty-nine percent get water from the public system; 64 percent from a well, 8 percent from the spring or other sources. Eighty-three percent have running water in the house. For heating, 65 percent use gas or oil or a combination of these; 36 percent use coal or wood or a combination of both. For cooking, 52 percent use gas and 39 percent use electricity. That means that 91 percent have modern ways for cooking. Nine percent alone use coal, kerosene, or wood.

Further indications that the Crow, as a group, are far from opposing change--but, on the contrary, are rather eager to adopt any available and affordable change--are the following descriptions of their style of life:

<u>Home Facilities</u>	<u>Percentage*</u>
Electricity	95
Indoor plumbing	78
Gas	61
Cooler, fan etc.	27
Air conditioning	6
Refrigerator	92
Radio	82

<u>Home Facilities</u>	<u>Percentage*</u>
Television	80
Washing machine	67
Sewing machine	51
HiFi or record player	44
Deep freeze	38
Clothes dryer	10

*The same house had several facilities so percentages total more than 100.

There is little doubt that the Crow Reservation is all open to become an important market for urban products. They show receptivity, interest, and awareness of modern appliances and facilities.

This same tendency is exemplified by acceptance of at least some of the patterns found in much more urbanized centers, such as use of cars, insurance, savings and checking accounts, etc.

Most Crow Indians own at least one car in running order: 52 percent of them have one car, 24 percent of them have two or more cars. This means that 76 percent of the population have ready access to a car in their own home.

Seventeen percent of the total population have medical insurance, 43 percent have car insurance, 19 percent have life insurance, and 14 percent have insurance on their home.

Savings accounts have been set up by 8 percent of the total population, and 17 percent have a checking account.

This same modernistic approach to life is apparent when the use of credit is considered.

Sixty-four percent of the total population approve of the use of credit; 19 percent approve with the reservation that it should be used wisely and with responsibility; only 17 percent disapprove of it. Fifty-five percent accepted the right of the creditor to take the debtor to court; 19 percent suggested that second chances be provided; 26 percent felt that this should not be done. Over half of the population or 64 percent reacted positively and without qualifications to the right of the creditor to come around to collect. However, 36 percent accepted with reservations.

On the other hand, relatively few in the total population feel they know enough about getting long-term loans. Only 36 percent of the total population stated that they knew how to get a loan. More specifically, 26 percent know how to get a tribal loan, 1 percent know how to get a loan from land lessors; while others (9 percent) feel they know how to get loans through more impersonal channels, like FHA, a bank, or a finance company.

3. Educational Aspiration and Achievement

Educational aspirations are high on the Crow Reservation. Eighty-five percent of the total population feel that they want their children to go on to college. And 90 percent of the group who want their children to go to college see college as a way to improve themselves financially and socially. Sixty-three percent feel that college is important or very important.

Is this positive attitude translated into action on the part of the parents? To a large extent it is, although reservation life may not always encourage such behavior. Nevertheless, 74 percent of the total population

encourage their children to attend school regularly. The involvement of the parents in the educational process is significant as 47 percent of the parents help their children with their homework (31 percent quite regularly and several times a week; 16 percent several times a month), and 25 percent of the parents attend regularly their P. T. A. meetings. Also, 61 percent of the parents encourage their children to go beyond high school either to college or vocational school.

On the other hand, the drop-out rate is apparently still quite high as 60 percent of the homes have at least one person who has dropped out of school. Of those who have dropped out, 75 percent claim they would go back to school is given a chance. When asked their opinions about why their children quit school, 396 responses were obtained. Of these, 35 percent indicated that the school was at fault (mostly that the children either did not like school or that they got discouraged because of the difficulty of the subject matter). However, 32 percent indicated that nobody in particular was at fault but that drop-outs were due to lack of money or health. Parents were blamed in 22 percent of the responses on the basis of their failing to encourage their children enough. The children were blamed only in 11 percent of the responses.

When asked for recommendations about how to help others enter and complete their college education, 331 concrete suggestions were given by the respondents. Of these recommendations 53 percent were concerned with monetary help: tribal loans for clothing and supplies, more scholarships, and summer jobs for students. However, 47 percent or almost as many recommendations (and not necessarily second, but first choices) were concerned with counseling, moral support, and encouragement. This shows quite a lot of insight on the part of the respondents who perceive this problem as not a simple one that money alone can solve.

This points to a crucial problem on the Crow reservation, a problem that perhaps exists on most Indian reservations. This is simply that education and training are of limited value if no occupational roles are available to the people on the reservation. And, of course, the people want these jobs in the geographical area to which they are emotionally attached. In other words, training may be a highly valued goal among the Crow Indians; and yet it might become a very frustrating experience, because in the process of obtaining this training, they may perceive and realize that this training ultimately may not be rewarded.

This is probably the explanation for the relatively negative response obtained to a question about the interest of the subjects themselves (the male household heads) in adult educational programs. Only 26 percent responded that they would like to see an educational program in which they themselves could acquire more education.

4. Potential Labor Force

The potential labor force on the reservation was estimated by considering the choices made by the people when asked about their job or occupational preferences. They were asked to say what type of work they preferred, what type of work they did best, what type of job training they would prefer, etc. They were asked to express first, second, and third choices, but the analysis here is based on the first choice expressed. A first choice was expressed by 59 percent of the heads of households, and the distribution of the answers is given here for the various age groups.

OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCES BY AGE

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Age Groups</u>				<u>Total</u>
	18-29	30-49 (Percentages)	50-65	over 65	
Painting/carpentry	27	30	28	0	28
Farming/ranching	16	30	28	100	26
Heavy equipment operator	24	14	20	0	18
Business	16	8	12	0	11
Welder/factory work	4	7	8	0	6
Mechanic	10	5	4	0	6
Teaching assistant	0	2	0	0	2
Electrician	3	3	0	0	2
Nursing assistant	0	1	0	0	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The above table shows the distribution by age groups and also by the total number of those answering the question. It is evident that the trend is preference for urban work, rather than rural, and this is particularly true among the young.

A specific question asked of the people was to report what kind of work they did best. This would indicate not only their preference but their own skills as they themselves considered them. To this question 83 percent of the male population answered as follows:

REPORTED ABILITY IN WORK

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Farming, ranching, laborer	36
Painting and/or carpentry	23
Truck driver and/or heavy equipment operator	21
Business skills	10
Mechanic	4
Factory (U.S. Automatics)	2
Sugar factory	2
Nursing and/or school assistants	1
Arts and crafts	1
Total	100

Considering all those who answered, it can be seen that 36 percent say their abilities are in farming and/or ranching, while others indicate mostly urban type of work.

Still another way to estimate the potential labor force on the reservation was to ask the type of work in which they would be willing to be trained, particularly if they wanted to stay on the reservation. Over half of the male heads of household gave their opinions, and 46 percent of the group indicated the specific fields in which they would be interested in being trained.

INTEREST IN OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Painting and/or carpentry	38
Truck driver and/or heavy equipment operator	27
Farm or ranch worker	14

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Welder	10
Secretarial	6
Teaching, nursing attendants	3
Factory work	2
Total	100

Again, the interest for training is mostly in occupations that are not directly related to farming or working the land. It may be of interest to note that some express interest in being trained in secretarial and nursing attendant work. This probably reflects the fact that this type of work is presently available on federal facilities on the reservation and thus it is familiar to some people.

With respect to the women, their interest and preference in working was also thought to be of importance. Several questions asked for their opinion and for factual information. In the following distribution of their answers the percentages are higher than 100 because individual responses to more than one question were included.

WOMEN'S WORK INTEREST AND EXPERIENCE

<u>Item</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Wife has worked away from home one year or less	12
Wife has worked away from home from one to seven years	11
Wife would like to work full-time	55
Wife would like to work part-time	20
Wife would like to work full-time if baby sitting facilities were established	67

The items considered above give an indication of some aspects of the potential female labor force on the reservation. The women were also asked to indicate the kind of work they felt they could do best. The answers of 73 percent are the following:

WOMEN'S REPORTED ABILITY IN WORK

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Baby sitting and/or housekeeping	25
Secretarial	25
Nursing assistant	19
Cooking	11
Arts, crafts, sewing	6
Teaching, teaching aide	5
Other	9
Total	100

Of those who answered, 25 percent report that they can do secretarial work and 19 percent say they could work as nursing assistants. An important point to make here is that 73 percent of the women say they feel they

can do some type of work, which gives a good indication of the potential female labor force on the reservation. Also, 68 percent of them said they would be willing to receive training for some type of work if that would help them to stay on the reservation.

It appears obvious that the Crow people are anxious and eager to be included in the labor force. In a specific way, for example, the men were asked what interest they would have in working if a recreation area were developed on the reservation. Specific interest was shown by 70 percent of the male population who said they would be interested in a job in such a project.

Still another aspect of the potential labor force was investigated by asking both men and women about their willingness to leave the reservation if a job were available somewhere else. As with other questions, individual answers were possible in more than one specific item and so the following distribution of percentages totals more than 100.

RELATIVE WILLINGNESS TO WORK OFF THE RESERVATION

<u>Item</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
I would move to another place if I were helped to move and get a job using my present skills	51	44
I would move to another place if I were helped to move and get a job which would train me in new job skills	54	40
I would be willing to take a job in the present state within 50 miles of the reservation	58	48
I would be willing to take a job in the present state that was 50 or more miles from the reservation	49	35
I would be willing to take a job outside the state of Montana	42	30

A significant trend is apparent. First, men appear more willing than women to move. Second, the farther the suggested move could be, the less they would like to move. The possibility of getting the needed training along with the move appears to increase the number of both men and women who might be willing to leave the reservation to find a job, but the difference is not great. It is evident, however, that considering the strong traditional pull of the reservation, a large number of the Crow people are willing, and perhaps even anxious, to find more rewarding working roles. Indirectly, this provides a significant index of the potential labor force among the Crow population.

5. The Skills of the Labor Force

a. Formal education:

The education of the male household head is as follows:

<u>School Years Completed</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Eight or less years of school	44
More than 8 but less than 12	27

<u>School Years Completed</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
High School	13
Some college or vocational school	13
Completed college	2

This means that 71 percent of the male population have never completed high school. However, it is evident that the trend is changing. The following figures indicate that the younger people in the reservation are better educated.

COMPLETED YEARS OF SCHOOLING OF MALES BY AGE

<u>Age</u>	<u>8 years or less</u>	<u>9-11 years</u>	<u>High School</u> (Percentages)	<u>Some College</u>	<u>College</u>
18-29	19	30	23	28	0
30-49	47	27	13	10	3
50-65	63	27	4	2	4
Over 65	87	6	7	0	0

These figures show that the younger the population, the higher the amount of formal education. That is, 7 percent of the oldest group have finished high school; 10 percent of those 50-65 years old have gone to high school and beyond; 26 percent of the 30-49 age group have done so, but 51 percent of the younger group fall in this category. It can be observed that a large number of the middle-age group have completed college, but it is possible that a number of the younger people were in college at the time of the survey and were not included. This gives an indication of the educational skills of the male population.

For the female population of the reservation, the following distribution gives a clear idea:

<u>School Years Completed</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
Eight or less years of school	45
More than 8 but less than 12	31
High School	14
Some college or vocational school	9
Completed college	1

Women seem to have less education than men on the reservation. Of all the women in the reservation 14 percent are high school graduates and 10 percent have received education beyond high school.

When age is taken into consideration, the description of the education of women is as follows:

COMPLETED YEARS OF SCHOOLING OF FEMALES BY AGE

<u>Age</u>	<u>8 years or less</u>	<u>9-11 years</u>	<u>High School</u> (Percentages)	<u>Some College</u>	<u>College</u>
18-29	23	39	25	12	1
30-49	46	32	11	11	0
50-65	69	21	6	2	2
Over 65	94	6	0	0	0

The same trend found among the males is also present among females. Among those 65 years old and older no high school graduates are present. On the other hand, 10 percent of the next younger age group, 22 percent of the one that follows, and 38 percent of those in the youngest age group, have completed high school. In all these age groups considered, the males consistently have received more education than the females.

From the point of view of formal education, then, the educational skills in the reservation appear to be increasing. The survey indicates that 28 percent of the males and 24 percent of the females, mostly young people, are ready to occupy work roles that demand at least a high school diploma. In all, about 58 percent of the total population in the reservation have received some high school education.

b. Vocational Training

The people were asked to list the completed vocational training which they considered their most important occupational asset. Among all males 25 percent claim to have at least one principal vocational training.

<u>Vocational Training of Men</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Auto repairs	15
Truck-driver and/or equipment operator	15
Painting and/or carpentry	13
Farming and/or ranching	11
Welding	9
Business skills	5
Miscellaneous skills	32
Total	100

But the situation on the reservation can be appreciated better if we add those who have had some vocational training even though they have not completed all the requirements yet. And the analysis by age shows in what age group these skills are concentrated.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING OF MALES BY AGE

<u>Vocational Training</u>	<u>Percentages</u>				<u>Total</u>
	<u>18-29</u>	<u>30-49</u>	<u>50-65</u>	<u>65+</u>	
Painting and/or carpentry	16	11	33	33	15
Auto repairs	19	14	0	33	11
Truck driver/equipment operator	16	8	17	0	11
Welding	12	9	0	0	9
Farming and/or ranching	5	9	17	0	8
Business skills	7	5	0	33	5
Miscellaneous	25	43	33	33	37

As it can be observed, of those that have received some training 9 percent of the total have training in farming and 91 percent in some type of urban skill.

It is important to note that the trend seems to be that skills in farming and ranching are decreasing and are not very popular among the younger age groups. On the other hand there appears to be an increase in the skills of truck driving, equipment operating, etc., which would indicate that the Crow people have an urban orientation with respect to work.

<u>Vocational Training of Women</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Secretarial	42
Nursing	30
Special school program	6
Housekeeping	5
Beauty operator	3
Miscellaneous	12
Total	100

A number of women reported that they have had some vocational training but that all requirements had not been completed. When this was considered, 23 percent of the total female population were found to have some training. The distribution was also controlled for age.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING OF FEMALES BY AGE

<u>Vocational Training</u>	<u>Age</u>				<u>Total</u>
	<u>18-29</u>	<u>30-49</u>	<u>50-65</u>	<u>65+</u>	
		(Percentages)			
Secretarial	37	46	20	0	39
Nursing	29	28	40	100	30
Special school program	11	2	0	0	6
Beauty operator	9	2	10	0	6
Housekeeping	0	4	10	0	3
Crafts and sewing	6	2	0	0	3
Miscellaneous	8	15	20	0	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100

This table shows that older women have received very little training but also that many younger women have received at least some type of training. Secretarial training and nursing are by far the most important skills.

c. Auto driving license

Among the men on the reservation 46 percent have a driver's license and 13 percent have a chauffeur's license for a total of 59 percent on the reservation who can drive an automobile. Among the women 23 percent have a driver's license. The driving skill is necessary not only to drive to work but often to get and keep a job. It is possible that some of the unemployment on the reservation is related to transportation problems if a person who does not drive is also unable to get rides to and from work. Perhaps that is why 38 percent of the people expressed a desire for a bus system on the reservation, and 28 percent said that it was hard for them to find a job because of transportation problems.

6. Employment Situation on the Reservation

The problem of employment on the reservation can be appreciated by the fact that only 50 percent of the heads of household (including female heads) are working. Of these, 35 percent have a low paying job, 14 percent have a job that pays better, and only 1 percent have a good paying job. The income for the people on the reservation comes essentially from three sources: 50 percent from a job or private enterprise, 20 percent from their land, and 30 percent from welfare, insurance, or the wife's employment. More specifically, this can be shown in the following table:

DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME LEVELS

<u>Income Level</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
\$1,000 or less a year	34
\$1,001 to \$3,000 a year	38
\$3,001 to \$5,000 a year	17
\$5,001 to \$7,000 a year	7
Over \$7,000 a year	5

This indicates that 72 percent of the working population make \$3,000 a year or less. Only 12 percent of them make over \$5,000. This is related to the low stability of employment on the reservation as it can be appreciated by the following distribution:

EMPLOYMENT STABILITY

<u>Item</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Not working	50
Seasonal work	24
Full-time work for less than one year	8
Full-time work for over one year	18

Thus, it appears that the vast majority of the working force on the reservation do not have steady and economically rewarding jobs. And it is possible to get a clearer view of this situation if the factors of education and training are considered in the analysis. To do this the population was divided into three groups with different education: those who have had some training beyond high school (9 percent), those who have completed high school (13 percent), and those who have had less than a high school education (77 percent). These three groups were then analyzed in terms of their employment status. The following table shows the distribution in percentages:

EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND EDUCATION

<u>Employment status</u>	<u>Education</u>		
	Less than high school	High school	More than high school
Unemployed	56	38	14
Low	35	25	43
Middle	9	33	35
High	0	4	8

The above table shows clearly that education makes a difference. For the higher the education the higher the chance of getting a higher status job or simply getting any job. But the table also shows that on the reservation education does not guarantee employment. This is a point that cannot be overemphasized. For it would appear that unless the economic structure of the reservation is changed, that is, unless enough rewarding occupational roles are available to the people, education per se may not solve the complex problems facing the Crow people. Furthermore, the lack of employment for people who are educationally ready to accept it can lead to individual and social disorganization. This education-employment dislocation on the reservation can be very discouraging to the youth who may decide that education really may not solve their problems.

Using the amount of education as control, we can also see some

important differences in the analysis of the population in terms of their income, the source of their income, and their job stability. In percentages, this is shown in the following table:

INCOME, SOURCE OF INCOME, JOB STABILITY, AND EDUCATION

<u>Items</u>	<u>Education</u>		
<u>Income</u>	Less than High school	High school	More than High School
\$1,000 or less a year	38	29	14
\$1,001 to \$3,000 a year	40	27	27
\$3,001 to \$5,000 a year	16	14	21
\$5,001 to \$7,000 a year	4	14	16
Over \$7,000 a year	2	16	22
<u>Source of Income</u>			
Welfare & insurance	36	25	8
Land	22	16	8
Job and/or private enterprise	42	59	84
<u>Job Stability</u>			
Not working	56	35	11
Seasonal	23	26	35
Less than one year	7	10	16
Over one year	14	29	38

Again, as shown in the tables, education makes some important difference. However, we can still see that 11 percent of the people with more than high school education are not working and 8 percent of them are on welfare. This is some evidence that the organizational structure on the reservation is somewhat out of balance and that some of the Crow people may not be able to fulfill all their needs while staying there. Again, the implications of this situation could be serious, particularly at a time when the youth are being encouraged to seek higher education.

Another aspect of the employment situation on the reservation that is important to consider is the comparison of the employment desires of the people and their actual employment. As mentioned before, there is, particularly among the young, an interest in occupational pursuits that are mostly urban and mechanized, such as painting, carpentry, truck driving, heavy equipment operator, business, welding, factory work, mechanic, etc. These, however, are not the types of jobs the people have or have had in the past. When asked about their current or most recent job, they reported the following:

CURRENT OR MOST RECENT EMPLOYMENT

<u>Employment</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Farming, ranching, laborer	58
Truck driver/heavy equipment operator	13
Painting and/or carpentry	8
Business skills	5
Tribal official	5
Sugar factory	5
U. S. Automatics (factory)	3

Nursing and/or school assistants	2
Arts and crafts	.5
Mechanic	.5

The comparison of the employment they have with what they would like to have suggests the possibility of great frustration on the reservation. For very few of the Crow people are working or have worked at jobs that match their preference as stated before. It cannot be overemphasized that stable, satisfactory work is the basis not only of individual adjustment but also of community stability. Productive, significant, economically and emotionally rewarding work gives man a sense of security and a sense of social importance. The Crow people seem to know this well and seem to know that unless this employment-dislocation is solved, the solution of other problems on the reservation may not be forthcoming.

7. Land Ownership and Involvement

The Crow population is still very much interested in land. It is a fact, of course, that their involvement with the land differs greatly, and also that growing numbers of them are leaving the reservation to settle in urban centers, but nevertheless, the land has great significance in their life. A better understanding of this relationship to the land is possible if it is analyzed by comparing people on the reservation who have a low socioeconomic-status with those who have a high socioeconomic-status. Actually, because of the importance of the factor of landownership and involvement, the population was divided into four socioeconomic-status groups; and these groups were compared in terms of the amount of land they had, whether they were sole owners or had joint ownership, the income they derived from the land, and also the use they made of the land. This type of analysis would tell who has how much land and what income, and what use they make from it. This is shown in the following composite table.

LAND OWNERSHIP AND INVOLVEMENT AND
SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Item	Socioeconomic Status				All Groups
	Low	Low Middle*	Middle	High	
<u>Amount of land</u>	(Percentages)				
None	7	12	18	20	10
Under 100 acres	22	24	25	0	23
100 to 900 acres	49	43	39	60	46
1000 to 2000+	22	21	18	20	21
<u>Ownership</u>					
No land	6	12	18	20	10
With others	34	31	33	20	32
Sole owner	60	57	49	60	58
<u>Income from land</u>					
No income	7	12	23	20	11
200-500	43	45	43	40	43
600-900	21	24	16	0	21
1000-1400	9	6	7	0	8
Over 1400	20	13	11	40	17

Use of land

No land	7	12	18	20	10
Land not used	2	1	4	0	2
Leased to non-Indians	83	68	53	20	73
Leased to Indians	4	2	2	0	3
Leasing and farming	2	8	11	40	6
Used by self	2	9	12	20	6

*For this particular table the lower SES category was divided into low and low middle categories.

These tables show that 90 percent of the respondents have land of their own, most of them having between 100 and 900 acres. Slightly over half of the respondents are sole owners of the land, and most of them get some money out of their land. However, 71 percent of the respondents get less than \$1,000 a year from their land. The money obtained from the land is overwhelmingly through leasing: 82 percent lease their land. Twelve percent use the land themselves.

When socioeconomic status is taken into consideration, some trends appear. First, there is a tendency for those who have no land to have a slightly higher socioeconomic status. Furthermore, the group that is most often included in the very low SES group is the group owning from 100 to 900 acres.

This tendency can probably be explained through a problem mentioned earlier: the lack of rewarding occupational roles on the reservation. Those who have land can survive without an occupational role. Those who have no land either have to leave the reservation or get, somehow, a relatively stable occupational role. And this is what seems to be happening.

It is also interesting to note that some individuals with high socioeconomic-status have high land involvement. For example, 40 percent of the high SES group have an income of over \$1,400 from their land. Also, combining those who lease and farm and those who farm themselves only (last two items of Use of Land), we can see that 60 percent are in the high SES, 23 percent in the middle SES, and only 17 percent and 4 percent respectively on the lower SES categories.

This seems to indicate that a few individuals have stable and relatively high occupational roles, but having land, they are also able to invest in their land from their occupational income, eventually getting a good income from both land and job. These individuals, however, are few, only 12 percent as the last column indicates.

The implications of these two major findings are quite important in terms of reservation affairs. That there is a great scarcity of occupational roles is a fact. But since it follows that everybody needs some income to survive, a large portion of the respondents are able to survive through some income from their land and occasional work. Those without land have to have more stable jobs and usually do get them. (And this, of course, does not include the unknown number of those who left the reservation in order to secure a more reliable income.) But those who have good jobs and land are able to invest in their land themselves and eventually have income from both.

A question of particular importance was to determine the characteristics of those who were getting a rewarding income from their land. The analysis here is by groups of different income level and this is shown in percentages in the following table.

LAND OWNERSHIP AND INVOLVEMENT BY INCOME

<u>Item</u>	<u>Income Level</u>				
	<u>No Income</u>	<u>200- 500</u>	<u>600- 900</u>	<u>1000- 1400</u>	<u>Over 1400</u>
<u>Amount of land</u>					
No land	100	0	0	0	0
Under 100 acres	3	78	13	0	6
100 to 900 acres	1	48	27	11	13
1000 to 2000	0	17	25	13	45
<u>Ownership</u>					
No land	100	0	0	0	0
With others	0	56	24	5	15
Sole owner	1	45	23	10	21
<u>Use of land</u>					
Not leasing	85	13	2	0	0
Leasing	0	52	25	8	15
Farming & leasing	0	30	17	4	49
Farming alone	13	22	13	17	35

There seems to be a relationship between ownership of land and income from land: the larger the amount of land owned, the higher the income. Generally, the sole owner of land gets more money from his land than the co-owner of land, but the difference is usually rather small. Those who use their land only for leasing seem to get less money than those who either lease and farm or ranch, or those who farm or ranch without leasing. When those who lease only and those who at least farm some of their land are compared, we find that 52 percent of those who lease only get \$500 or less a year from their land; (and 25 percent make \$900 or less) but only 22 percent of those who farm their own land make \$500 or less a year from their land (and only 13 percent make \$900 or less a year from their land).

But farming is no guarantee of larger income. As a matter of fact, as mentioned before, those few individuals who work their land and also have a high income are the ones who also have a relatively high socioeconomic status job.

In other words, farming one's own land seems to provide a greater chance of higher income than leasing alone. Yet farming is not necessarily an assurance of high income. As shown earlier, the individual who is the most successful in farming is the one who also has an occupational role on the labor market where perhaps he acquires both know-how and some surplus money and, by investing both in his land, he makes a better living.

8. Involvement in Tribal Affairs and Expectations from Leaders

A significant number of the Crow people are interested in the affairs of the reservation, but their degree of involvement differs from issue to issue. First, 36 percent of the population report that they have attended some meetings, though only 11 percent of these say they have attended four or more meetings.

Whether this participation is viewed as high or low, the fact is that their involvement is significant if we judge by the number of people who

responded to the large number of questions presented to them.

The analysis of the large number of responses obtained shows that respondents are very interested in job opportunities. Also, those who participated in answering these questions were very eager to give answers, as many of them gave several answers to each question. However, on the basis of the number of responses, it seems that the respondents were more anxious to respond to questions asking for suggestions. They were less anxious to react to questions about their awareness of programs the tribal council was involved in or about their evaluation of tribal leaders.

But in analyzing the responses, it should be taken into consideration that only slightly over half of the respondents actually contributed to the responses. In other words, about half of the population eagerly made suggestions and gave responses, but half of the population remained silent. Therefore, the analysis is only concerned here with the responses of the vocal half of the population.

SUGGESTIONS AND OPINIONS ABOUT RESERVATION ISSUES

<u>Issues</u>	<u>Percentage mentioning issues</u>
What should be done to increase job opportunities?	
Have Indians establish facilities on reservation and provide jobs	55
Bring Anglo facilities on reservation and provide jobs	32
Help train and educate people	13
What money-making projects should tribe have?	
Establish urban enterprises (factories, grocery store, pawn shop, etc.)	38
Establish rural enterprises (raise cattle, buy Tchirgi ranch)	35
Develop natural resources (recreation site natural resources)	19
Train people for jobs	8
What should tribal council do?	
Provide jobs for people	34
Provide easier access to loans or money	33
Get back complete leases for Indians	17
Set up vocational or other educational facilities	16
What do you expect from your tribal leaders?	
Provide occupational roles for tribe	71
Provide opportunity for jobs and loans	74
Utilize labor force	16
Bring industry to reservation	10
Invest and make money for tribe	11
Promote educational programs and scholarships	9
Get land leases back for Indian people	9
Programs tribal council is involved with:	
C. A. P.	7
N. Y. C.	4
Head Start	4
Campbell Ranch	2
Yellow-Tail dam	23

Rug Factory	22
Housing program	21
Tchirgi Ranch	17

Feelings about what Tribal Leaders do now:

Positive feelings	35
None expressed	46
Negative feelings	19

Without exception, all the responses are concerned with the creation of occupational roles for those on the reservation. And the people also express their feelings concerning the manner of solving the employment problem. The important thing here is not whether they are right or wrong in their proposed solutions, for individuals with different needs and knowledge usually have different solutions. But the important point is that in expressing themselves, they express their perception of the problem and their desire to solve it. They are involved and they expect the leadership to be involved. It is of significant interest, however, to note that almost twice as many favor the establishment of Indian organizations which might provide jobs (55 percent) rather than the establishment of Anglo organization to do the same (32 percent).

In other words, the respondents are extremely aware of the need for organizations that can provide occupational roles on the reservation, but they prefer Indian organizations to an organization set up by Anglos. This is later ratified by the limited interest in bringing industry to the reservation.

Again, in the second issue, the respondents were eager to suggest money-making projects to their tribal leaders. And when these suggestions were evaluated, it appeared that more responses were in favor of urban-type of enterprises (like the establishment of factories, a grocery store, a pawn store, etc.) rather than rural enterprises. However, the difference between the two types of responses is so small that it can be said that both types of enterprises would be welcome on the reservation. Also 19 percent favored the development of natural resources and 8 percent favored further training facilities.

Thus far, then, the Crow people favor the establishment of urban-like organizations set up by Indians to employ Indians.

The great interest in occupational roles is shown again in the responses to the third issue. The two favored responses (provide jobs for people and provide easier access to loans or money) can be translated again as the desire on the part of the respondents for occupational roles: 34 percent of the responses favor dependence on an organization established on the reservation, while 33 percent of the responses favor greater access to money so that the people themselves are helped to create their own organization. The response to the next issue also indicates a desire on the part of the respondents to establish their own organization that would provide occupational roles. This means that 34 percent are for some Indian group establishing an organization which would provide occupational roles and 50 percent are for facilities being provided for them to establish their own organization which would provide occupational roles.

Responses to the fourth issue ratify the earlier findings that at least some of the people want opportunities to develop their own organizations. Thus 80 percent of the responses indicate interest in occupational roles and/or in being helped in making it on their own (get land leases back). And 11 percent of the responses suggest that the tribal leaders invest and make money for the tribe. Also, 9 percent of the responses ask for more educational programs and scholarships.

9. Plans and Orientation to the Future

So far, the major problem the Crow Reservation has is the lack of rewarding and stable occupational roles for the people. Education is relatively high, training is present, orientation toward mechanized roles is present, interest in acquiring such occupational roles is there, but the available occupational roles are quite limited. As a matter of fact, the desire for occupational roles appears to motivate most respondents to answer positively to the idea of moving off the reservation, although their reluctance to do so is quite obvious and can be explained on the basis of their orientation toward the extended family.

The problem itself seems to suggest two alternative solutions, both extremely complex to achieve. The first one would be the breaking down of the extended family which, of course, is not necessarily desirable. Without the ties of the extended family, the better-educated and better-trained individuals on the reservation could feel free to move from the reservation and offer their services wherever desirable jobs are available.

The second solution is the development of rewarding occupational roles on the reservation itself, a very complex problem which, as seen earlier, is not simply the bringing of money to develop land but may demand industrialization of the area.

To consider this issue more specifically we can analyze the responses made by the Crow people when asked about their plans and ideas toward the future, especially with respect to their land. The table that follows shows the percentage of those who responded to the questions:

EXPRESSED DESIRES RELATIVE TO FUTURE LAND USE

<u>Item</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Farm land themselves	10
Ranch themselves	22
Get back from lessor	8
Build home on land	4
Interest in getting special training to help in using land themselves	56
Interest in setting up a co-op	43
Interest in forming corporation	24
Using land for business establishments	20
Would need to sell land to set up business	30
Feel like selling some land	19
Do not feel like selling any land	62
Leaders could help in developing land (through loans, use of machinery)	19
Leaders could help in raising lease prices	4
Leaders could help get land back	4

It is significant again to note that only a few may want to farm the land. Twice as many, or 22 percent would want to go into ranching. And it would appear that the desire to get the land back from leasing is also on the increase. The orientation to urban life and urban employment is evident by the 19 percent who feel that they might sell at least some land. Of the several ways proposed to help in the development of the land the most popular one was special training; slightly over half of the total number of respondents approved. Almost half of the sample showed interest in setting

up a co-op, but only 24 percent were in favor of forming a corporation. Only 20 percent were interested in using their land for business establishments. In other words, over 50 percent are interested in at least improving their occupational roles; almost half of the population is interested in setting up a co-op, but the idea of setting up a corporation or business is not too attractive to them.

There is little doubt that the Crow people are attached to their land and that they do not want to sell it, even though some of them recognize that doing so would bring them some immediate benefits.

Few of the respondents perceive the tribal leaders as helpers in the development of the land. Specifically, 33 percent of the respondents state that they do not feel the tribal leaders could help them use the land more effectively. But 38 percent say that the tribal leaders could help. Of these, 19 percent feel they could help in the problems of getting the land back.

Another important point is evident. While almost 30 percent of the population claimed earlier that the kind of work they felt they could do best was farming and ranching, here in this table we find that 56 percent express interest in some training so that they may learn to use the land themselves. This would seem to indicate a lot of insight on the part of the Crow people. For in order to set up a complete farm or ranch they seem to know that much more than just simple farming and ranching skills are necessary. They seem to want know-how in business organization and management which could include knowledge of production and distribution techniques.

PART THREE

ANALYSIS OF ATTITUDES BY THREE SELECTED VARIABLES

The previous analysis of the data has shown some important characteristics of the Crow population by cross-tabulating some key factors by age, sex, education, and income. That analysis was mainly in reference to actual conditions and actual behavior of the people. The analysis presented in this part of the report, however, refers mainly to attitudes of the Crow people concerning education, tribal affairs, and future land utilization. The analysis of these attitudes is done in terms of their correlation with three selected variables: socioeconomic status (SES), rural-urban residence, and extent of land involvement. For example, the analysis will show the difference in attitude toward education, toward tribal affairs, and toward future land utilization by those people in the reservation who are in each of the three social classes, or low, middle, and high SES. The same analysis will be presented for those from rural and urban residence on the reservation and also for those who differ in their extent of land involvement.

The three variables (socioeconomic-status, urban-rural residence and extent of land involvement) were selected because of their value as predictors of differences in attitudes. It is important to know if what the Crow people think about their affairs and aspirations is related to certain conditions such as low or high socioeconomic status, living in the urban or rural part of the reservation, or having a high or low involvement with the land.

The measure of socioeconomic-status consisted in combining the individual's formal education, his vocational training, his occupational position, the source and amount of his income, and the stability of his job. The responses to each item were scored and tabulated and three groups were formed: the low social class with 221 persons, the middle social class with 131 persons, and the high social class with 38 persons.

The measure of rural-urban residence was on the basis of the location of the people in the reservation. Lodge Grass and Crow Agency were considered relatively urban on the basis of the population concentration, while the other communities (Black Lodge, Pryor, Wyola, St. Xavier, etc.) were considered rural. This decision was based on the principle that people living in larger communities usually develop or have different attitudes from people living in rural areas. It was also based on the idea that larger communities usually provide greater occupational opportunities. Of course, it was not known to what extent these principles were true on the Crow Reservation.

To measure the extent of land involvement, several items were considered. The income from land, the amount of land owned, the sole or shared ownership of the land, and the present use of the land (whether leased or worked by owner). Four categories of land involvement were derived: those having no land, and those having a low, average, or high involvement with the land. As it can be seen in the tables presented at the end of each section, it is apparent that some differences in attitudes are related to the situation in which people find themselves on the reservation.

Before presenting that analysis, however, we wanted to know the relationship between the selected variables themselves. That is, the relationship between rural-urban residence and socioeconomic status and also the extent of land involvement and socioeconomic status. The first is shown in the following table:

RESIDENCY AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

<u>SES</u>	<u>Residence</u>	
	Urban (Percentages)	Rural
High	13	6
Middle	37	29
Low	<u>50</u>	<u>65</u>
Total	100	100

It would appear that there is a larger number of people in the urban areas who have a higher socioeconomic status. It is perhaps of equal importance to note, however, that even in the urban areas the number of people with low socioeconomic status is relatively high. The next table shows the relationship of the other two variables:

EXTENT OF LAND INVOLVEMENT AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

<u>SES</u>	<u>Extent of Land Involvement</u>			
	No Land	Low	Average	High
	(Percentages)			
High	15	11	8	10
Middle	45	34	30	33
Low	40	55	62	57

The pattern appears to be that the less the extent of land involvement the higher the socioeconomic status. It seems that the more dependent the people are on the land, or the more involved they are with it, the less successful they seem to be in terms of socioeconomic-status. It is perhaps the lack of dependency on the land that motivates the people to seek and achieve stable employment even when they live on the reservation.

The analysis of the three selected variables can now be presented. To give a clear view of the statistical analysis of attitudes about the three issues (Education, Tribal Affairs and Future Land Use) by the three selected variables (SES, Rural-Urban Residence and Extent of Land Involvement), the following chart may be useful:

SELECTED VARIABLES----- Related to: -----ATTITUDE TOWARD

Socioeconomic-status-----
Rural-Urban Residence-----
Extent of Land Involvement-----
----- EDUCATION

Socioeconomic-status-----
Rural-Urban Residence-----
Extent of Land Involvement-----
----- TRIBAL AFFAIRS

Socioeconomic-status-----
Rural-Urban Residence-----
Extent of Land Involvement-----
----- FUTURE LAND USE

The above chart indicates that each of the three socioeconomic-status groups on the reservation, as well as each of the two residence groups and also each of the four groups in land involvement, are being compared in

terms of their respective attitudes toward education, tribal affairs, and future land use.

ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION

First we consider the attitude toward education. As we have seen, 61 percent of the total population encourage their children to go to college. Of these 47 percent feel that college is extremely important while 16 percent say only that it is important.

Analyzing this attitude toward college, we find that those who encourage their children to go to college tend to be from the high socioeconomic status group. Most of them also are in the group with high land involvement. It seems that goals of high education are related primarily to socioeconomic status; on the other hand, those who just express the feeling that college is important tend to be from the urban group and mostly from the group that has no land.

The Crow people directly and indirectly also suggest some of the means to achieve educational goals. Some feel that the schools should modify their approach. Others feel that financial support and the health of the children should be improved. A third group feel that both the children and the parents should improve their performance.

Those who indicate that the schools should improve tend to come from the low socioeconomic status group. They also tend to be urban and have a low land involvement. The ones advocating greater financial and health facilities tend to be from the middle socioeconomic status group. They also tend to be rural and some have high land involvement while others have average land involvement. On the other hand, those who feel that the improvement must come from parents and children tend to come from the high socioeconomic status group, are mostly urban, and have no land.

To put it in another way, the respondents can be divided into those who advocate, respectively, changes in school, financial help, and counseling. The urban, low socioeconomic status group with low land involvement tend to complain about the schools. The rural group, with high land involvement, complain mostly about lack of money and health. The urban, high socioeconomic status group, with no land, tend to perceive that the main problem of education is related to poor students and parent performance.

The pattern is complete when we analyze the recommendations made by these groups. The 53 percent who recommend economic help come from the lower socioeconomic group, are mostly urban, and have high land involvement. The 47 percent who recommend counseling tend to come mostly from the high socioeconomic status group, are urban, and have no land.

It is undeniable that the Crow people are interested in the achievements of higher education by their children. Interestingly enough, however, not all groups on the reservation see education in the same way, nor do they conceive of the same solutions. The following three tables present the findings in more detail:

EDUCATION & SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

<u>Attitude Toward Education</u>	<u>Socioeconomic Status</u>		
	Low	Average	High
	(Percentages)		
Encourage college for children	62	60	66
College education is extremely important	42	52	58
Why people drop out of school:			
School's fault	39	30	34
Lack of money or health	36	38	15
Parents' or children's fault	25	32	47
Recommendations to help complete college:			
Economic help	56	55	30
Counseling, encouragement	44	45	70

EDUCATION & RESIDENCE

<u>Attitude Toward Education</u>	<u>Residence</u>	
	Urban	Rural
	(Percentages)	
Encourage college for children	61	61
College education is extremely important	64	25
Why people drop out of school:		
School's fault	36	33
Lack of money or health	32	38
Parents' or children's fault	32	29
Recommendations to help complete college:		
Economic help	50	56
Counseling, encouragement	50	44

EDUCATION & EXTENT OF LAND INVOLVEMENT

<u>Attitude Toward Education</u>	<u>Extent of Land Involvement</u>			
	No Land	Low	Average	High
	(Percentages)			
Encourage college for children	35	60	63	78
College education is extremely important	55	48	45	47

Why people drop out of school:

School's fault	32	42	33	32
Lack of money or health	32	32	36	35
Parents' or children's fault	36	27	31	32

Recommendations to help complete college:

Economic help	37	49	54	66
Counseling, encouragement	63	51	45	34

ATTITUDES TOWARD TRIBAL AFFAIRS

As we have said before, the Crow people almost overwhelmingly ask for job opportunities. For example, the combined responses to several questions indicate that about 90 percent of the reservation population would like to change or improve their employment status. As it would be expected, the most consistent demand comes from the groups with low and average socioeconomic status--those who have no land and are in the urban areas. To increase employment opportunities, 55 percent of the suggestions given by the people indicate the preference for the establishment of Indian facilities on the reservation. This compares with 32 percent who suggest that Anglo facilities should be established. It is also interesting to note that 38 percent of the responses suggest the establishment of urban enterprises while 35 percent prefer the establishment of rural enterprises. Also, 19 percent suggest that the natural resources of the reservation be developed.

Analyzing the data by the three selected variables, it is evident that all socioeconomic classes favor the establishment of Indian facilities. Rural residence and people with high land involvement also favor Indian facilities. On the other hand, it is those who have no land that favor the establishment of Anglo facilities. The choice of urban enterprises is greater among those of low socioeconomic status and those who have no land, while rural enterprises are preferred mostly by the group with middle socioeconomic status and those with low and average land involvement. The development of natural resources is suggested more often by the high socioeconomic status group, those from urban residence, and those who have low land involvement.

Some aspects of the attitude toward tribal affairs on the part of the Crow people are manifested in the form of recommendations they make for the solution of reservation problems. Some suggest the creation of jobs while others suggest that money and loans be made available. Some would like to get the leased land back from Anglo farmers; also more vocational and educational facilities established. A small number advocate that investments be made by the tribe, and a few would like to see some industry brought to the reservation.

The suggestion for loans and money is favored by both the low and middle socioeconomic status groups and the groups with average and no land involvement. It is the low socioeconomic status group with average-low land involvement who suggest getting the leased land back for the Indians. Vocational and educational facilities are preferred by the high socioeconomic status group, and those who are from the urban areas and have no land involvement. Financial investment by the tribe was advocated mostly by the urban, high socioeconomic status group with high land involvement.

It is significant that bringing industry to the reservation is advocated mostly by the high socioeconomic status group, particularly those who have no land. In general it appears that those who have no land and are least

occupationally successful are in a hurry and would favor whatever means are available to bring fast results. The more successful, and also those with land, are more apt to recommend the use of their own assets: their know-how, or their land, or both. These findings are presented in more detail in the following three tables:

ATTITUDES TOWARD TRIBAL AFFAIRS AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

<u>Attitude Toward Tribal Affairs</u>	<u>Socioeconomic Status</u>		
	Low	Average	High
	(Percentages)		
What should be done to increase job opportunities?			
Have Indians establish facilities on reservation and provide jobs	55	56	56
Bring Anglo facilities on reservation and provide jobs	31	32	31
Help train and educate people	14	12	13
What money-making projects should tribe have?			
Establish urban enterprises	43	38	23
Establish rural enterprises	33	38	33
Develop natural resources	15	17	38
Train people for jobs	8	7	6

RECOMMENDATIONS:

Provide easier access for loans, money	34	33	25
Get back leases for Indians	20	15	8
Bring industry to reservation	6	7	17
Invest and make money for tribe	10	11	22
Set up vocational or educational facilities	13	16	33

ATTITUDE TOWARD TRIBAL AFFAIRS & RESIDENCE

<u>Attitude Toward Tribal Affairs</u>	<u>Residence</u>	
	Urban	Rural
	(Percentages)	
What should be done to increase job opportunities?		
Have Indians establish facilities on reservation and provide jobs	55	58
Bring Anglo facilities on reservation and provide jobs	32	30
Help train and educate people	13	12
What money-making projects should tribe have?		
Establish urban enterprises	39	38
Establish rural enterprises	35	36
Develop natural resources	20	16
Train people for jobs	6	10

What should tribal council do?		
Provide jobs for people	31	39
Provide easier access for loans, money	32	34
Get back complete leases for Indians	17	18
Set up vocational or educational facilities	19	10
What do you expect from your tribal leaders?		
Provide occupational roles for tribe	74	68
Provide opportunity for jobs and loans	52	54
Utilize labor force	12	11
Bring industry to reservation	10	3
Invest and make money for tribe	10	12
Promote educational programs and scholarships	8	11
Get land leases back for Indian people	8	8

ATTITUDE TOWARD TRIBAL AFFAIRS & EXTENT OF LAND INVOLVEMENT

Attitude Toward Tribal Affairs	Extent of Land Involvement			
	No Land	Low	Average	High
	(Percentages)			
What should be done to increase job opportunities?				
Have Indians establish facilities on reservation and provide jobs	39	55	59	60
Bring Anglo facilities on reservation and provide jobs	39	33	30	25
Help train and educate people	22	12	11	15
What money-making projects should tribe have?				
Establish urban enterprises	52	36	36	43
Establish rural enterprises	25	36	38	33
Develop natural resources	15	20	18	17
Train people for jobs	8	8	8	7
What should tribal council do?				
Provide jobs for people	33	37	34	31
Provide easier access for loans, money	33	29	35	31
Get back complete leases for Indians	7	15	21	13
Set up vocational or educational facilities	27	20	10	25
What do you expect from your tribal leaders?				
Provide occupational roles for tribe	88	73	67	71
Provide opportunity for jobs and loans	64	56	48	56
Utilize labor force	12	10	14	6
Bring industry to reservation	12	7	5	9
Invest and make money for tribe	8	10	11	16

Promote educational programs and scholarships	4	11	11	6
Get land leases back for Indian people	0	7	11	6

ATTITUDE TOWARD FUTURE LAND USE

A little over one-third of the Crow population show some interest in using their land. The desire to use the land for ranching is expressed by 22 percent, while 10 percent would like to farm their land; and 4 percent say that they would like to build their home on it.

Analyzing the responses by the three selected variables, it appears that those who want to use the land themselves are from the high socioeconomic status group, live in urban areas, and have a high land involvement. Ranching is preferred to a higher degree by those of high socioeconomic status, of urban residence, and with average land involvement. Farming, on the other hand, is preferred by those with low socioeconomic status, of rural residence, and with low land involvement. This would seem to indicate that those contemplating using their own land are those with a high socioeconomic-status who also happen to be the ones relatively successful and stable in employment. An important thing to know is that there is already a small number of people in the reservation who seem to be successful in terms of employment and who also are involved in working successfully their own land. It would appear that if an individual becomes successful in his employment, and if he is able and willing to invest personally in his land, either in ranching or farming, he has a good chance of becoming successful in both endeavors. The findings suggest that the high socioeconomic status group on the reservation are doing precisely that. It doesn't seem to be easy to be successful by working the land alone. But if one becomes successful in the job market, it may be possible to increase that success by working the land also.

In this respect it is interesting to know that 56 percent say that they are interested in getting agricultural training, 43 percent are interested in using the land through the formation of a cooperative, 24 percent would prefer the formation of a corporation, and 20 percent would prefer to set up their own business establishments. The ones favoring training are mostly from the high socioeconomic status group, have rural residence, and have high land involvement. Those who favor a cooperative tend to be from the middle socioeconomic status group, are also rural, and have a high land involvement. Those in favor of a corporation represent the low socioeconomic status group and come from those with low as well as high land involvement. It is those from the middle socioeconomic group with high land involvement who favor the setting up of their own businesses. The trend becomes apparent again that the high socioeconomic status group on the reservation sees a strong possibility and desirability of utilizing the land themselves.

With a respect to future land use, only a small number of the population have some recommendations. Specifically, 19 percent of them recommend increased use of loans and machinery, 4 percent recommend the return of some of the leased land and also of raising the payment for leased land. It is the middle socioeconomic status group, of urban residence, and with low land involvement, who advocate the increased use of loans and machinery. It is the high socioeconomic group, of rural residence, and with high land involvement, that suggests the return of leased land. It seems that the high socioeconomic status group feels confident enough to demand the return of the land. They are the ones who seem to be ready to make productive use of their own land. Their number, however, is very small.

In general the data indicate that the majority of the Crow people do not feel quite ready to handle the challenge of working their own land. The few that appear to be ready are those who are already successful in an occupational role and who appear to feel more secure in terms of both economic assets as well as know-how. The following three tables present these findings in more detail:

ATTITUDE TOWARD LAND USE AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

<u>Attitude Toward Land Use</u>	<u>Socioeconomic Status</u>		
	Low	Average	High
	(Percentages)		
Want to use land themselves	34	40	42
Use of land (only for those who said would use land themselves)			
Ranching	64	73	73
Farming	30	25	20
Build home	6	2	7
Interest in agricultural training	53	59	61
Use of land through a co-op	42	47	39
Use of land under corporation	27	21	16
Use of land for business establishment	19	21	18
How can tribal leaders help in using land better?			
Loans and use of machinery	70	74	64
Get land back	14	9	36
Raise land lease	16	18	0

ATTITUDE TOWARD LAND USE AND RESIDENCE

<u>Attitude Toward Land Use</u>	<u>Residence</u>	
	Urban	Rural
	(Percentages)	
Want to use land themselves	39	35
Use of land (only for those who said would use land themselves)		
Cattle and ranching	72	62
Farming	22	34
Build home	6	4
Interest in agricultural training	54	59
Use of land through a co-op	42	45
Use land under corporation	24	24

Use land for business establishment	20	20
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How can tribal leaders help in using land better?

Loans and use of machinery	78	61
Get land back	12	18
Raise land leases	10	20

ATTITUDE TOWARD LAND USE & EXTENT OF LAND INVOLVEMENT

Attitude Toward Land Use	Extent of Land Involvement			
	No Land	Low	Average	High
	(Percentages)			
Want to use land themselves	-	34	44	49
Use of land (only for those who said would use land themselves)				
Cattle and ranching	-	53	75	68
Farming	-	37	22	27
Build home	-	10	3	5
Interest in agricultural training	5	54	64	71
Use of land through a co-op	-	41	51	53
Use of land under corporation	-	30	25	29
Use land for business establishment	-	20	22	27
How can tribal leaders help in using land better?				
Loans and use of machinery	-	77	74	50
Get land back	-	15	11	25
Raise land lease	-	8	15	25

IV. CONCLUSION

On the basis of the analyzed data it would appear that the Crow people are facing a major dilemma. Their present education prepares them mostly for urban-type employment, and yet this type of employment is limited on the reservation so that only a relatively small number of people can find rewarding jobs. Most rural-type employment, on the other hand, is seasonal and relatively unrewarding economically. Because of this it might be said that a good many of the Crow people are overeducated and this at a time when education is considered to be the most effective means of upward mobility. That is, they are overeducated if they want to stay on the reservation since occupational roles are so limited there. Of course, one alternative is to leave the reservation to seek rewarding employment.

However, Indian culture emphasizes the importance of the family, and leaving the reservation permanently is practically out of the question for many of the people. Moreover, attachment to the land is definitely another important factor in the Indian's reluctance to leave the reservation.

The survey shows that most of the respondents seem aware of this dilemma and they also appear to be groping for possible answers. As stated before, most of the people regard education as the answer. However, the data show that even relatively well-educated individuals on the reservation have been unable to secure steady, permanent, full-time employment. Also, some respondents appear to be already concerned about the failure of education alone to solve the problem.

Another answer proposed by some of the respondents is the possibility of using the land more intensively. In general, however, enthusiasm for this solution is relatively low. It seems that rural employment is not perceived as being rewarding, for certainly it hasn't been in the past. Also, only a third of the respondents have acquired agricultural skills. Moreover, their occupational self-image appears to be mostly that of urban workers.

It must be pointed out, however, that the Crow people do not appear to have lost self-confidence, for a good number of them express the desire for the establishment of urban-type Indian facilities developed by Indians which would provide sufficient occupational roles right there on the reservation. As one considers this dilemma it would appear that the Crow people are faced with the following three alternatives: (1) they might continue with the employment assistance program and obtain training for urban jobs, moving to urban centers and practically giving up their land and their community; (2) they might prepare themselves for occupational roles of higher status which will probably be increasingly available in the Bureau of Indian Affairs structure; (3) they might create jobs right on the reservation which may be urban and/or rural and which may be directed by Indians and/or whites.

The first alternative could be seen as a very practical solution as it is the one typically used by other people facing the same problem. This can be seen, for example, in the case of the white farm families. Most white farmers know that their land cannot accommodate all their children so they encourage their children to seek employment away from the farm. We know, of course, that rural migration to urban centers is constantly on the increase. This is not to say, however, that this solution automatically satisfies the needs of the Indian people. For while white people emphasize material success and achievement, Indians do not particularly follow that way of social and self-validation. Also, while the white people have long emphasized the conjugal family, the Indian people still depend greatly on the extended family system which is more difficult to maintain in the urban centers.

The Crow people are aware, of course, that some material goals are indispensable in order to survive in present-day society, and they are also aware that employment is one firm basis for self-validation. On the other hand, they also seem to be aware that to satisfy these needs the sacrifice of an important value might be necessary, that is, getting away from family, friends, and meaningful community life. Not all people are able to make this sacrifice and many of those who do make it are not really prepared to survive the consequences. Thus, we see that many of the conjugal Indian families that move to the large cities are seldom sustained by the necessary rationalizations that are usually available to the white conjugal family. The white family has long learned to rationalize his isolation from relatives, but the Indian family, even if it has the necessary occupational skills, often develops a feeling of alienation and hopelessness. The Indian family in the cities often maintains many aspects of the style of life which is considered legitimate on the reservation but which may receive various types of social punishment in the city.

To put it another way, although the relocation program has undoubtedly been very useful for some reservation people, often it has not satisfied basic needs of the Indian family. And often it has simply moved reservation problems to an urban setting.

The second alternative that might be available to the Crow people in reality has been already implemented by the Bureau of Indian Affairs for a number of years. A good many of the Bureau's occupational roles at the lower echelons are at present occupied by Indian personnel. Many young people from the reservations are preparing themselves in our universities and colleges and in the future these young people could occupy more and more of the higher echelon positions in the bureau. The process is slow and perhaps not as effectively achieved as it might be expected, but the process has been definitely started. It is mentioned here as an alternative because in the future it could take new and greater significance. It cannot be expected, however, that this alternative would be a sufficient answer to the employment problems of the Crow or other reservation people as the turnover in Bureau employment tends to be rather low.

The third alternative is the one most often mentioned by the Crow people. As we consider the findings a few variations of this third alternative is the one most often mentioned by the Crow people. As we consider the findings, a few variations of this third alternative can be identified:

A. Rural employment in white facilities. In the past this employment has been found to be rather unrewarding for most of the Crow people. This type of work tends to be seasonal and provides limited economic and social rewards. But this type of work will probably continue to exist as long as the leasing of reservation land continues. Among the Crow people leasing of land continues to be high and apparently about half of the population are planning to continue this procedure. Leasing to others and also occasionally working for those who lease the land still appears an acceptable way of financial support for many families on the reservation, but some dissatisfaction with this arrangement is evident.

B. Rural employment in Indian facilities. It is well known that rural enterprises are not easily started in American society today. Small farming is successful mostly when supplemented by regular employment by the head or some other member of the family. Industrial farming, on the other hand, can be a very successful enterprise if it is undertaken as big business. To develop industrial farming, however, a large investment and perhaps even government subsidy might be necessary. But this type of farming might be available only to a limited number of Crow people. This would mean, of course, that in order for the owners to succeed financially,

they would have to use unskilled workers, employed seasonally, and at relatively low wages. And at a time when machinery is replacing human labor, relatively few can benefit from industrial farming, that is, mostly those who have organizational know-how.

C. Urban-type employment in white facilities. The geographical location of the Crow reservation apparently makes it very difficult to establish heavy industry. Transportation problems would probably make competition very difficult. Certain types of industry, however, might continue to be established on the reservation thus providing more employment opportunities. It is well known that some reservation people are rather reluctant to see white industry settle on their land, and it is easy to understand this feeling. It appears, however, that this might be one of the fastest ways of providing relatively large numbers of employment opportunities. There are usually some disadvantages that come with industrialization but there are also many important advantages. This type of solution might become acceptable as a normal process of change.

D. Urban employment in Indian facilities. Two types of facilities might be developed. The first could be the type catering to the needs of the Crow people. In the survey the respondents suggested, for example, a pawn shop and grocery stores. On another reservation, for instance, a clothing store was established by some reservation people after a factory had been established by whites, and a number of jobs were provided in the reservation. This type of facility could become very effective as the money earned would probably stay on the reservation and would serve to develop a strong reservation economy. This indigenous economy can develop only when a market for the products is also developed. This implies that this type of solution is only partial, and it is dependent on the success of other aspects of the reservation economy.

The second type of facility is also suggested by a number of respondents. This would be the development and control of their own factories and the development of reservation natural resources. This would imply the creation or expansion of markets outside the reservation. It would also imply the development of management skills and efficiency and the selection of products that could meet competition in the white market. The Crow people might consider allowing the development of white facilities on the reservation with the explicit understanding that this would be taken over by Indian professionals in a specified number of years.

Obviously each one of the four alternatives and variations of alternatives discussed here, as well as others not mentioned, have both advantages and disadvantages. They also have different types of rewards and different types of costs. The present survey has shown, among other things, that education among the Crow people is a significant asset and also that many skills are available. It has also shown that the people have a basic enthusiasm and optimism as well as a strong desire to start things going. It would appear that the time is right and that much can be done by men of vision and social responsibility.